

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The conflict that ended in 1945 is often described as a 'total war', unprecedented in both scale and character. Volume III of *The Cambridge History of the Second World War* adopts a transnational approach to offer a comprehensive and global analysis of the war as an economic, social and cultural event. Across 27 chapters and four key parts, the volume addresses complex themes such as the political economy of industrial war, the social practices of war, the moral economy of war and peace and the repercussions of catastrophic destruction. A team of nearly 30 leading historians together show how entire nations mobilized their economies and populations in the face of unimaginable violence, and how they dealt with the subsequent losses that followed. The volume concludes by considering the lasting impact of the conflict and the memory of war across different cultures of commemoration.

MICHAEL GEYER is Samuel N. Harper Professor of German and European History in the Department of History at the University of Chicago.

Adam Tooze is Barton M. Biggs Professor of History at Yale University.



THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

GENERAL EDITOR

EVAN MAWDSLEY, Honorary Professorial Research Fellow and formerly Professor of International History at the University of Glasgow.

The Cambridge History of the Second World War is an authoritative new account of the conflict that unfolded between 1939 and 1945. With contributions from a team of leading historians, the three volumes adopt a transnational approach, to offer a comprehensive, global analysis of the military, political, social, economic and cultural aspects of the war. Volume 1 provides an operational perspective on the course of the war, examining strategies, military cultures and organisation, and the key campaigns, whilst Volume 11 reviews the 'politics' of war, the global aspirations of the rival alliances, and the role of diplomacy. Volume III considers the war as an economic, social and cultural event, exploring how entire nations mobilized their economies and populations, and dealt with the catastrophic losses that followed. The volumes conclude by considering the lasting impact of the Second World War and the memory of war across different cultures of commemoration.

VOLUME I
Fighting the War
EDITED BY JOHN FERRIS AND EVAN MAWDSLEY

VOLUME II Politics and Ideology EDITED BY RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH AND JOSEPH A. MAIOLO

VOLUME III

Total War: Economy, Society and Culture

EDITED BY MICHAEL GEYER AND ADAM TOOZE



THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

VOLUME III

Total War: Economy, Society and Culture

Edited by

MICHAEL GEYER

and

ADAM TOOZE





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107039957

© Cambridge University Press 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printing in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-I-107-03995-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Illustrations, figure, and map page ix
List of tables xii
List of contributors to volume III xiii

Introduction to volume III 1
MICHAEL GEYER AND ADAM TOOZE

PART I POLITICAL ECONOMY 19

Introduction to Part I 21
MICHAEL GEYER AND ADAM TOOZE

- The economics of the war with Nazi Germany 27 ADAM TOOZE AND JAMIE MARTIN
 - 2· Finance for war in Asia and its aftermath 56
 GREGG HUFF
 - 3· War of the factories 94

 JEFFREY FEAR
- 4· Controlling resources: coal, iron ore and oil in the Second
 World War 122

 DAVID EDGERTON
- 5. The human fuel: food as global commodity and local scarcity 149

V



Contents

- 6. Sea transport 174
 MICHAEL MILLER
- 7· Knowledge economies: toward a new technological age 196
 CATHRYN CARSON
 - 8. Environments, states and societies at war 220 CHRIS PEARSON

PART II THE SOCIAL PRACTICE OF PEOPLES' WAR, 1939–1945 245

Introduction to Part II 247
MICHAEL GEYER AND ADAM TOOZE

- 9. Death and survival in the Second World War 252 RICHARD BESSEL
- 10. Wars of displacement: exile and uprooting in the 1940s 277
 - II. The war of the cities: industrial labouring forces 298
- 12. Battles for morale: an entangled history of total war in Europe,
 1939–1945 329
 JOCHEN HELLBECK
- 13· Hors de combat: mobilization and immobilization in total war 363
 GEOFFREY COCKS
- 14· The war of the villages: the interwar agrarian crisis and the Second World War 385



Contents

PART III THE MORAL ECONOMY OF WAR AND PEACE 413

Introduction to Part III 415
MICHAEL GEYER AND ADAM TOOZE

15· Sexuality and sexual violence 422
SABINE FRÜHSTÜCK

- 16. A war for liberty: on the law of conscientious objection 447
- 17. Against war: pacifism as collaboration and as resistance 475
- 18· Humanitarian politics and governance: international responses to the civilian toll in the Second World War 502

 STEPHEN PORTER
 - 19. Making peace as a project of moral reconstruction 528
 - 20. Renegotiating the social contract: Western Europe, Great Britain,
 Europe and North America 552

 TIMOTHY B. SMITH
 - 21. The rise and fall of central planning 575

 DAVID C. ENGERMAN
- 22· Nationalism, decolonization, geopolitics and the Asian post-war 599

 RANA MITTER

PART IV IN THE AFTERMATH OF CATASTROPHIC DESTRUCTION 623

Introduction to Part IV 625
MICHAEL GEYER AND ADAM TOOZE

vii



Contents

23. Interpretations of catastrophe: German intellectuals on Nazism, genocide and mass destruction 630

PETER E. GORDON

24. The ghosts of war 654
MONICA BLACK

- 25. Popular memory, popular culture: the war in the post-war world 675
 - 26. The Second World War in global memory space 698
 - 27· Landscapes of destruction: capturing images and creating memory through photography 725

 DOROTHEE BRANTZ

Bibliographical essays 749 Index 810



Illustrations

- I Eight Views of the World by Richard Edes Harrison. © David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
- 2 Predominant Economies by US Department of State, Office of the Geographer.
 © David Rumsey Map Collection, Publication
- 3 The World: Populations and Railroads by US Department of State, Office of the Geographer. © David Rumsey Map Collection, Publication
- 4 Overseas Shipping Routes by US Department of State, Office of the Geographer.
 © David Rumsey Map Collection, Publication
- 5 Great Circle Airways by Richard Edes Harrison. © David Rumsey Map Collection, Publication
- 6 One World, One War by Richard Edes Harrison. © David Rumsey Map Collection, Publication
- 7 Smiling Through News and Pictures: 'First it was War Reporters. Now It's Official Artists' by Joseph [Joe] Lee. © British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent
- 8 *Nash tysianchnii udar* [Our One-Thousandth Blow]. P. Sokolov-Skalia and N. Denisovskii, text by V. Lebedev-Kumach. © The Art Institute of Chicago
- 9 Production: America's answer! by Jean Carlu, US Office of Emergency Management, Information Division. © Public domain
- 10 Rosie the Riveter by Norman Rockwell. © Buyenlarge/Getty Images
- 11 Ruby Loftus Screwing a Breech Ring by Laura Knight. © IWM (ART LD 2850)
- 12 新女性美: 螺線を切る[Shinjoseibi: rasen wo kiru Modern Girls' Beauty: Spiral Cutting], by Shimano Shigeyuki. © Photo of destroyed work in: Hariu, Ichirō, Noi Sawaragi, et al., eds., Senso to bijutsu 1937–1945 = Art in Wartime Japan 1937–1945. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai Inc., 2007, p. 137
- 13 Frauen schaffen für Euch: Im Flugzeugbau [Women Work for You: In Aeroplane Production] by Gert Gagelmann (?). © Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin
- 14 La Mujer tambien quiere ganar la guerra. Ayudemos la! [She also wants to win the war. Help Her!] by unknown artist. © Digitalpostercollection.com/flickr / kitchener.lord
- 15 Zamenim! [Let us replace them] by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Serov. ${\hbox{$\mathbb C$}}$ Russian National Library, St. Petersburg



List of illustrations

- 16 Avec l'ouvrier soldat pour le socialisme [With the Worker Soldier for Socialism]. © IWM (ART PST 6483)
- 17 Europas Sieg Dein Wohlstand [Europe's Victory Your Prosperity]. © IWM (ART PST 4712)
- 18 Sieg oder Bolschewismus [Victory or Bolshevism] by Mjölnir aka Hans Schweitzer.
 © Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin
- 19 Tania [The Heroic Feat of Zoia Kosmodemianskaia] by 'Kukryniksy': Porfirii Krylor, Nikolai Sokolov and Mikhail Kuprianov. © Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow
- 20 Ukraine 1942 Judenaktion in Iwangorod [Ukraine 1942, Jewish Action, Ivangorod] by unknown photographer. © Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
- 21 Devastation of Bombed Nagasaki, photograph by Yosuke Yamahata. © Japan Peace Museum/Yamahata Family
- 22 Visitors view a photomural of corpses piled on the ground at Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, photograph in 'Lest We Forget' exhibition. © Public domain; courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
- 23 Visitors view a photomural of survivors in their barracks in Buchenwald, photograph in 'Lest We Forget' exhibition. © Public domain; courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
- 24 끌려감 [Kkŭlyŏgam Stolen Away] by Soon-Duk Kim. © The House of Sharing / The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military (Gyunggi-do, Republic of Korea)
- 25 Oborona Sevastopolia [The Defence of Sevastopol] by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Deineka. © State Russian Museum, St Petersburg, Russia / Bridgeman Images
- 26 Okraina Moskvy. Noiabr' 1941 goda [The Outskirts of Moscow, November 1941] by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Deineka. © Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow / Bridgeman Images
- 27 Sbityi as [An Ace Shot Down] by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Deineka. © State Russian Museum, St Petersburg, Russia / Bridgeman Images
- 28 Sintesi Fascista [Fascist Synthesis] by Alessandro Bruschetti. © The Wolfsonian–Florida International University, Miami Beach, Florida, The Mitchell Wolfson, Jr. Collection
- 29 Guernica by Pablo Picasso, Spain/France, 1937. © Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid / Scala Archives
- 30 Le Charnier [Charnel House] by Pablo Picasso, France, 1944/45. © Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY / Scala Archives
- 31 Totes Meer (Dead Sea) by Paul Nash. © Tate Images, London 2014
- 32 アッツ島玉砕 [Attsutōgyokusai Shattered Pearls (Honourable Death) on Attu Island] by Fujita Tsuguharu. © The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, xoo120
- 33 Liberation by Henry Carr. ${\hbox{$\mathbb C$}}$ Imperial War Museum (Art. IWM ART LD 4515)
- 34 原爆の図 [Genbaku no zu Hiroshima Panels] I: 幽霊 [Yūrei Ghosts] by Toshi and Iri Maruki. © Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels (Higashi-Matsuyama, Saitama)
- 35 Majdanek Mausoleum, designed by architect Wiktor Tolkin. © Photography by Jolanta Dyr
- 36 Mulackstrasse 37: Slide Projection of Former Jewish Residents (c.1932) by Shimon Attie. © Shimon Attie



Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-03995-7 - The Cambridge History of the Second World War: Volume III:

Total War: Economy, Society and Culture Edited by Michael Geyer and Adam Tooze

Frontmatter More information

List of illustrations

- 37 'Rodina Mat' Zovet!' [The Motherland Calls!] Mamayev Kurgan Memorial Complex, designed by sculptor Evgenii Vuchetich. © Courtesy of the Russian Federation
- 38 RAF Bomber Command Memorial, designed by Liam O'Connor. © Photograph Lucy Noakes
- 39 Polenfeldzug, bei Danzig, Strasse Zoppot-Gdingen: Schlagbaum an der polnischen Grenze wird beseitigt [The Polish Campaign near Danzig, Road from Sopot to Gdańsk: The Barrier on the Polish Border Removed] by Hans Sönnke. ©Bundesarchiv, 146-1979-056-18A
- 40 Murmansk by Evgennyi Khaldei. © Collection Ernst Volland and Heinz Krimmer
- 41 Three Dead Americans on the Beach at Buna [New Guinea] by George Strock, USA, 1942/43. © George Strock / Getty Images
- 42 Brama w Birkenau [Entrance Gate to Auschwitz-Birkenau] by Stanisław Mucha. © Bettmann/CORBIS
- 43 Blick vom Rathausturmnach Süden [View from City Hall to the South]. Photograph of Dresden in 1945, taken by press photographer and photojournalist Richard Peter (1895–1977). © Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek/Fotothek
- 44 *Hiroshima, 6 August 1945*, photo taken from aboard the *Enola Gay* by George Caron. © Courtesy of the US National Archives

The colour plates can be found between pages 434 and 435

Figure

2.1 Nationalist China real value of currency and rate exchange in prices, 1937–1945

page 72

Мар

2.1 China monetary areas, 1945

page 65

Every effort has been made to contact the relevant copyright-holders for the images reproduced in this book. In the event of any error, the publisher will be pleased to make corrections in any reprints or future editions.



Tables

2.1	Japan war expenditure, 1940–1944	page 60
2.2	Japan government debt and finance, 1932–1944	61
2.3	Japan money supply and prices, 1934/36-1945	64
2.4	Nationalist China cash budgetary and military expenditure, 1937–1945	67
2.5	Nationalist China government expenditure, revenue, deficit covered	
	by borrowing and increase in note issue, 1936–1945	69
2.6	Nationalist, Japanese-occupied and Communist China prices, 1937–1945	70
2.7	China: Japanese and puppet note issues, 1937–1945	76
2.8	Japan's money supply and prices, 1945–1953	84
2.9	China government expenditure, revenue and deficit, 1945–1948	88
2.10	Shanghai wholesale prices, 1946–1949	89
2.11	China and world hyperinflations, 1914–1953	90
3.1	Selected key arms production, major combatants, 1942	110
3.2	German industrial investments, 1936–1943	112
4. I	Production, exports and imports of coal, iron ore and petroleum, 1937	129
II.I	Trade unions and other labour organizations, 1935–1945	302
11.2	Share of women employees as percentage of workforce in the most	
	important branches of German industry, 1933–1945, including female	
	foreign labour	308
11.3	Weekly worktime in German industry, 1929–1945	310
11.4	Share of civilian foreign workers and POWs in workforce of	
	important branches of German industry, 1942–1944	311
11.5	Foreign civilian workers and POWs employed in German industry	
	by nationality, August 1944	312
ОΤ	Inequality before and after taxes and benefits 1027–1077	561



Contributors to volume III

RICHARD BESSEL is Professor of Twentieth-Century History at the University of York.

MONICA BLACK is Associate Professor of History at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

MARK PHILIP BRADLEY is Bernadotte E. Schmitt Professor of International History at the University of Chicago.

DOROTHEE BRANTZ is Professor of Urban History and Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the Technical University of Berlin.

CATHRYN CARSON is Associate Professor of History at the University of California, Berkelev.

GEOFFREY COCKS is Professor of History at Albion College, Michigan.

LIZZIE COLLINGHAM is an independent scholar.

DAVID EDGERTON is Hans Rausing Professor of the History of Science and Technology and Professor of Modern British History at King's College London.

DAVID C. ENGERMAN is Ottilie Springer Professor of History at Brandeis University.

JEFFREY FEAR is Professor of International Business History at the University of Glasgow.

Sabine Frühstück is Professor of Modern Japanese Cultural Studies in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

MICHAEL GEYER is Samuel N. Harper Professor of German and European History in the Department of History at the University of Chicago.

xiii



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-03995-7 - The Cambridge History of the Second World War: Volume III: Total War: Economy, Society and Culture

Edited by Michael Geyer and Adam Tooze Frontmatter More information

List of contributors to volume III

PETER E. GORDON is Amabel B. James Professor of History, and Faculty Affiliate at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University.

RÜDIGER HACHTMANN is a Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung in Potsdam.

JOCHEN HELLBECK is Professor of History at Rutgers University.

GREGG HUFF is Senior Research Fellow at Pembroke College, University of Oxford.

JEREMY K. KESSLER is Associate Professor of Law at Columbia University.

YASMIN KHAN is University Lecturer in British History at the University of Oxford, and a Fellow of Kellogg College.

JIE-HYUN LIM is Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Critical Transnational Studies at Sogang University, Seoul.

Jamie Martin is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at Harvard University.

MICHAEL MILLER is Professor of History at the University of Miami.

Rana MITTER is Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China at the Institute for Chinese Studies, University of Oxford.

LUCY NOAKES is Reader in History in the School of Humanities at the University of Brighton.

Chris Pearson is Senior Lecturer in Twentieth-Century History in the Department of History at the University of Liverpool.

DEVIN O. PENDAS is Associate Professor of History at Boston College.

STEPHEN PORTER is Assistant Professor of History and Director of the International Human Rights Certificate at the University of Cincinnati.

Тімотну В. Sмітн is Professor of History at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

ADAM TOOZE is Barton M. Biggs Professor of History at Yale University.